Chapter 1
Introduction, Summary, and Chapter Conclusions

Introduction

Recognition that the problems posed by personal risks are amenable to social solutions is an important contribution of modern public health. Each person makes choices, but such choices are shaped by social, economic, and environmental circumstances. On an even broader scale, national choices are made in a complex regional or global setting. This report attempts to place the personal risk of smoking in the Americas in the larger context and to underline both the heterogeneity and the interrelationship of nations.

Previous Surgeon General's reports have focused primarily, although not exclusively, on the epidemiologic, clinical, biologic, and pharmacologic aspects of smoking. With the twenty-fifth anniversary report (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1989), in which considerable attention was devoted to the social, economic, and legislative aspects of tobacco consumption, the need to place tobacco in a larger context was made apparent. Accordingly, this report now examines the broad issues that surround the production and consumption of tobacco in the Americas.

Development of the Report

The 1992 Surgeon General's report was prepared by the Office on Smoking and Health (OSH), National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Centers for Disease Control, Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, as part of the department's responsibility, under Public Law 91-222, to report current information on smoking and health to the U.S. Congress.

OSH, a World Health Organization Collaborating Center for Smoking and Health, works closely with the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO). In the Regional Plan of Action for the Prevention and Control of Tobacco Use, PAHO responded to the thirty-third meeting (1988) of its Directing Council, which recommended that PAHO (1) collaborate with the countries of the Americas in the development of national programs for the prevention and control of smoking and (2) cooperate with member states and government and nongovernment centers and groups in identifying and mobilizing resources to contribute to this plan of action (PAHO 1989).

In February 1988, the Surgeon General, then C. Everett Koop, M.D., Sc.D., and the PAHO Director, Carlyle Guerra de Macedo, M.D., M.P.H., agreed to the development of a Surgeon General's report that focuses on smoking in the Americas. OSH and the Health of Adults Program of PAHO began work on this project.

OSH and PAHO presented the concept of a collaborative effort to attendees of the Fourth PAHO Subregional Workshop on the Control of Tobacco (Central America) in November 1988. Meetings of the Latin American Coordinating Committee on Smoking Control were also attended by OSH and PAHO staff in Santa Cruz, Bolivia (January 1989), and in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago (March 1989).

Four experts on tobacco and health (from Brazil, Canada, Colombia, and Costa Rica) served on the Senior Editorial Board, and a collaborator was identified in each of the participating member states. In September 1989, work began on the current report and on a country-by-country summary of the current status of tobacco prevention and control in the Americas, which PAHO is issuing as a companion document to this report (PAHO 1992).

The current report has been prepared from reviews written by experts in the historical, sociodemographic, epidemiologic, economic, legal, and public health aspects of smoking in the Americas. In addition to standard bibliographic sources, the report uses data supplied by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Centers for Disease Control, The World Bank, the World Health Organization, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, the Caribbean Community Secretariat, the Latin American Center on Demography, the International Union Against Cancer, the International Organization of Consumers Unions, the American Cancer Society, and the Latin American Coordinating Committee on Smoking Control.

In addition, this report uses information derived from a data collection instrument developed by PAHO (with technical assistance from OSH) for the companion report on the current status of tobacco prevention and control in PAHO's member states. The data collection instrument requested current information on tobacco cultivation, cigarette consumption, legislation, taxation, government and nongovernment programs to control tobacco, tobacco-use surveys, and tobacco-related disease impact. Detailed information from this data collection instrument was reviewed at meetings in Caracas, Venezuela (February 1990), and Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago (March 1990), before incorporation into PAHO's country-by-country status report.

Major Conclusions

Five major conclusions have emerged from review of the complex factors affecting smoking in the Americas. The first two relate to the current size of the problem; the latter three, to current conditions that have an important influence on the prevention and control of tobacco use.

1. The prevalence of smoking in Latin America and the Caribbean is variable but reaches 50 percent or more among young people in some urban areas. Significant numbers of women have taken up smoking in recent years.
2. By 1985, an estimated minimum of 526,000 smoking-attributable deaths were occurring yearly in the Americas; 100,000 of these deaths occurred in Latin America and the Caribbean.
3. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the current structure of the tobacco industry, which is dominated by transnational corporations, presents a formidable obstacle to smoking-control efforts.
4. The economic arguments for support of tobacco production are offset by the long-term economic effects of smoking-related disease.
5. Commitment to surveillance of tobacco-related factors—such as prevalence of smoking; morbidity and mortality; knowledge, attitudes, and practices; tobacco consumption and production; and taxation and legislation—is crucial to the development of a systematic program for prevention and control of tobacco use.

Summary

The use of tobacco in the Americas long predates the European voyages of discovery. Among indigenous populations, tobacco was used primarily for the pharmacologic effects of high doses of nicotine, and it played an important role in shamanistic and other spiritual practices. Its growth as a cash crop began only after the European market was opened to tobacco in the early and mid-seventeenth century. During early colonial times, the focus for tobacco cultivation shifted from Latin America and the Caribbean to North America, where a light, mellow brand of tobacco was grown. Despite antitobacco movements, the popularity of tobacco increased dramatically after the U.S. Civil War, and by the early part of the twentieth century, the cigarette had emerged as the tobacco product of choice in the United States.

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed a spectacular increase in the popularity of cigarettes and in the growth of several major cigarette manufacturing companies in the United States. Interest in international expansion was minimal until after World War II. In the early 1950s, preliminary reports of the health effects of tobacco first appeared; these were followed in 1964 by the first report of the Surgeon General on the health effects of smoking (Public Health Service 1964). These events, which were accompanied by a downturn in U.S. tobacco consumption, ushered in a period of rapid international expansion by the tobacco companies. Their expansion into Latin America and the Caribbean was typified by a process of denationalization—that is, the abandonment of local government tobacco monopolies and the creation of subsidiaries by U.S. and British transnational tobacco corporations. The transnational companies were particularly successful in altering local demand by influencing consumer preferences. Local taste for dark tobacco in a variety of forms was largely replaced by demand for the long, filtered, light-tobacco cigarettes produced by the transnational companies.

During the 1980s, several divergent forces influenced the consumption of tobacco in Latin America and the Caribbean. Changing demographics (primarily declining birth and death rates and an overall growth in the population), increasing urbanization, improving education, and the growing entry of women into the labor force—all expanded the potential market for tobacco. Although systematic surveillance evidence is lacking, an increased prevalence of smoking among young people, particularly women in urban areas, appears to have occurred during this period. A countervailing force, however, was the major economic downturn experienced by most countries of Latin America and the Caribbean during the 1980s. The result was that despite the increasing prevalence of smoking in some sectors of the population, overall consumption of tobacco declined. Unlike the decline in North America, however, the decline in Latin America and the Caribbean seems to have been

based on income elasticity rather than on health concerns.

The health burden imposed by smoking in Latin America and the Caribbean is currently smaller than that in North America. A conservative estimate is that, by the mid-1980s, at least 526,000 deaths from smoking-related diseases were occurring annually in the Americas and that approximately 100,000 of these deaths occurred in Latin America and the Caribbean. Since the smoking epidemic is more recent, less widespread, and less entrenched in Latin America and the Caribbean than in North America, it may be thought of as less "mature"—that is, sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the cumulative effects of tobacco use to become manifest. Because health data from Latin American and Caribbean countries vary in consistency and comprehensiveness, establishing overall trends for morbidity and mortality is difficult. Nonetheless, the available evidence suggests an important contrast between North America on the one hand, and Latin America and the Caribbean on the other. In the United States and Canada, smoking-associated mortality is high and increasing because of high consumption levels in the past, but prevalence of smoking is declining. In Latin America and the Caribbean, prevalence of smoking is high in some sectors, but smoking-attributable mortality is still low compared with that for North America. This contrast augurs poorly for public health in Latin America and the Caribbean, unless action is taken.

The health costs of smoking are considerable. The U.S. population of civilian, noninstitutionalized persons aged 25 years or older who ever smoked cigarettes will incur lifetime excess medical care costs of $501 billion. The estimated average lifetime medical costs for a smoker exceed those for a nonsmoker by over $6,000. This excess is a weighted average of the costs incurred by all smokers, whether or not they develop smoking-related illness. For smokers who do develop such illnesses, the personal financial impact is much higher.

Available data do not permit a firm estimate for Latin America and the Caribbean. The estimate will probably vary with the health care structure of the country, but the burden is likely to increase with increasing development and industrialization. Nonetheless, early evidence suggests that smoking-prevention programs can be cost-effective under current economic circumstances.

The economics of the tobacco industry in the Americas are complex. Although tobacco had long been thought to be an inelastic commodity, it has been demonstrated to be both price and income elastic. Such elasticity renders tobacco use susceptible to control through taxation and other disincentives. Revenues from tobacco have been an important, though variable, source of funds for governments, but the case for promoting tobacco production on economic grounds is weak. Currently, only a few countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have economies that are largely dependent on tobacco production. The current economic picture, coupled with consumer responsiveness to income and price and the potential health hazards, has created a significant opportunity for tobacco control in Latin America and the Caribbean.

This opportunity is reflected, to some extent, in the fact that most countries of the Americas have legislation that controls tobacco use. Restrictions on advertising, the requirement of health warnings on tobacco products, limits on access to tobacco, and restrictions on public smoking have all been invoked. The legislative approach is not systematic, however, and in many countries, the programs have gaps. Furthermore the extent to which such legislation is enforced is not fully known. Nonetheless, the pace of enactment suggests a growing awareness of the potential efficacy of the legislative approach.

Overall, the public health approach to tobacco control in Latin America and the Caribbean is variable. Many countries have adopted some elements of comprehensive control, including (in addition to legislation and taxation) the development of national coalitions, the promotion of education and media-based activities, and the development and refinement of surveillance systems. Few countries, however, have adopted the unified approach that characterizes, for example, the program in Canada.

The potential exists in the Americas for a strong, coordinated effort in smoking control at the local, national, and regional levels. The high prevalence of smoking that is emerging in many areas is a clear indicator of an approaching epidemic of smoking-related disease. The potential for decreasing consumption in Latin America and the Caribbean has been well demonstrated, albeit by the unfortunate mechanism of an economic downturn. The potential for a decline in smoking prevalence motivated by health concerns has been well demonstrated in North America. Furthermore, the importance of tobacco manufacturing and production to local economies is undergoing considerable scrutiny. Regional and international plans for tobacco control have been developed and are being implemented. For persons in the Americas in the coming years, the individual decision to smoke may well be made in an environment that is increasingly cognizant of the costs and hazards of smoking.

Chapter Conclusions

Following are the specific conclusions from each chapter in this report:

Chapter 2. The Historical Context

1. Tobacco has long played a role, chiefly as a feature of shamanistic practices, in the cultural and spiritual life of the indigenous populations of the Americas. This usage by a small group of initiates contrasts sharply with the widespread tobacco addiction of contemporary American societies.
2. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, amalgamation of major U.S. cigarette firms coincided with the emergence of the cigarette as the most popular tobacco product in the United States.
3. In Latin America and the Caribbean, through a process of denationalization and the formation of subsidiaries, a few transnational corporations now dominate the tobacco industry. The current structure of the industry presents a formidable obstacle to smoking-control efforts.
4. After rapid growth in per capita tobacco consumption in Latin America and the Caribbean during the 1960s and 1970s, a severe economic downturn during the 1980s led to a decline in tobacco consumption. In the absence of countermeasures, an economic recovery is likely to instigate a resurgence of tobacco consumption.

Chapter 3. Prevalence and Mortality

1. Certain sociodemographic phenomena—such as change in population structure, increasing urbanization, increased availability of education, and entry of women into the labor force—have increased the susceptibility of the population of Latin America and the Caribbean to smoking.
2. The lack of systematic surveillance information about the prevalence of smoking in most areas of Latin America and the Caribbean hinders comprehensive control efforts. Available information reflects a variety of survey methods, analytic schemes, and reporting formats.
3. Available data indicate that the median prevalence of smoking in Latin America and the Caribbean is 37 percent for men and 20 percent for women. Variation among countries is considerable, however, and smoking prevalence is 50 percent or more in some populations but less than 10 percent in others. In general, prevalence is highest in the urban areas of the more-developed countries and is higher among men than among women.
4. The initiation of smoking (as measured by the prevalence of smoking among persons 20 to 24 years of age) exceeds 30 percent in selected urban areas. Although systematic time series are not available, the data suggest that more recent cohorts (especially of women) in the urban areas of more-developed countries are adopting tobacco use at a higher rate than did their predecessors.
5. The smoking epidemic in Latin America and the Caribbean is not yet of long duration or high intensity, and the mortality burden imposed by smoking is smaller than that for North America. By 1985, an estimated minimum of 526,000 smoking-attributable deaths were occurring each year in all the countries of the Americas; 100,000 of these deaths occurred in Latin American and Caribbean countries.
6. The estimate of 526,000 deaths annually is conservative and is best viewed as the first point on a continuum of such estimates. However, it provides an order of magnitude for the number of smoking-attributable deaths in the Americas.
7. The time lag between the onset of smoking and the onset of smoking-attributable disease is foreboding. In North America, a high prevalence of smoking, now declining, has been followed by an increasing burden of smoking-attributable morbidity and mortality. In Latin America and the Caribbean, rising prevalence portends a major burden of smoking-attributable disease.

Chapter 4. Economics of Tobacco Consumption in the Americas

1. Because the health costs of tobacco consumption result from cumulative exposure, they are most pronounced in the economically developed countries of North America, which have had major long-term exposure. Since many countries of Latin America and the Caribbean are experiencing an epidemiologic transition, the economic impact of smoking is increasing.

2. The economic costs of smoking are a function of the economic, social, and demographic context of a given country. In the United States, estimated total lifetime excess medical care costs for smokers exceed those for nonsmokers by $501 billion—an average of over $6,000 per current or former smoker. Similar formal estimates for many Latin American and Caribbean countries are not available.
3. Evidence of the cost-effectiveness of smoking control and prevention programs has increased. In Brazil, for example, the cost of public information and personal smoking-cessation services is estimated at 0.2 to 2.0 percent of per capita gross national product (GNP) for each year of life gained; treatment for lung cancer costs 200 percent of per capita GNP per year of life gained.
4. In Latin America and the Caribbean, as GNP increases, cigarette consumption increases, particularly at lower income levels. This effect is attenuated at higher income levels.
5. Advertising tends to increase cigarette consumption, although the relationship is difficult to quantify precisely. Advertising restrictions are generally associated with declines in consumption and, hence, are an important component of tobacco-control programs.
6. The case for promoting increased tobacco production on economic grounds should be reconsidered. Although tobacco is typically a very profitable crop, much of the advantage of producing tobacco stems from the various subsidies, tariffs, and supply restrictions that support the high price of tobacco and provide economic rents for tobacco producers. Although the tobacco industry is a significant source of employment, production of alternative goods would generate similar levels of employment.
7. Increases in the price of cigarettes, which are a price-elastic commodity, cause decreases in smoking, particularly among adolescents. Excise taxes may thus be viewed as a public health measure to diminish morbidity and mortality, although the precise impact of taxes on smoking will be influenced by local economic factors.

Chapter 5. Legislation to Control the Use of Tobacco in the Americas

1. Legislation that affects the supply of and demand for tobacco is an effective mechanism for promoting public health goals for the control of tobacco use.
2. Although the direct effects of legislation are often difficult to specify because of interaction with a variety of other factors, there are numerous examples of an immediate change in tobacco consumption subsequent to the enactment of new laws and regulations.
3. Most countries of the Americas have legislation that restricts cigarette advertising and promotion, requires health warnings on cigarette packages, restricts smoking in public places, and attempts to control smoking by young people. These laws and regulations, however, vary in their specific features. In many areas, the current level of enforcement is unknown.

Chapter 6. Status of Tobacco Prevention and Control Programs in the Americas

1. A basic governmental and nongovernmental infrastructure for the prevention and control of tobacco use is present in most countries of the Americas, although programs vary considerably in their degree of development.
2. The need is now recognized, and work is under way, for developing a comprehensive, systematic approach to the surveillance of tobacco-related factors in the Americas, including the prevalence of smoking; smoking-associated morbidity and mortality; knowledge, attitudes, and practices with regard to tobacco use; tobacco production and consumption; and taxation and legislation.
3. School-based educational programs about tobacco use are not yet a major feature of control activities in Latin America and the Caribbean. The few evaluation studies reported indicate that such programs can be effective in preventing the initiation of tobacco use.
4. Cessation services in most countries of the Americas are often available through church and community organizations. Private and government-sponsored cessation programs are uncommon.
5. Media and public information activities for tobacco control are conducted in most countries of the Americas, but the extent of these activities and their effect on behavior are unknown.

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